132 On the western slope of the plateau and in the extreme south the
137 climate is hot and semi-arid to arid. The ground is covered with clumps of low trees and thorny scrub, interspersed with stretches of
[164] grass land. In many places it is difficult to obtain water. In spite of the aridity there is much fever in this region, making it unhealthy for Europeans.

101 The various environments just described are reflected in the culture of the natives of the different regions. The people of the east coast are mainly fishermen and agriculturalists, with little dependence on cattle. Those of the plateau are mainly agricultural, but with cattle of greater economic importance. Those of the south and west
[113] subsist almost entirely on their herds. (For a discussion of these differences see Linton: Culture Areas in Madagascar, American Anthropology, Vol. XXX, No. 3.)

[131] The Tanala occupy approximately the southern third of the eastern massif. Their territory lies roughly between 20° 30′ and 22° 20′ south latitude and between 46° and 46° 30′ east longitude. On the east they extend, in places, to within a day's march of the sea, but nowhere reach the coast. On the west and south their territory everywhere ends at the edge of the open grass lands.

As neighbors they have, on the south and southwest, the Bara, who are a cattle people with a culture of west coast type. On the west lie the Betsileo and on the northwest the Imerina, both of plateau culture. On the north are the Bezanozano, of mixed plateau and east coast culture, and on the northeast the Betsimisaraka, of east coast culture. On the east lie three tribes, the Antambahoaka, Antaimorona and Antaifasina, who claim Arab descent and unquestionably have come under strong Arab influence.

177 The Tanala thus lie at the meeting point of four rather distinct types of culture. Influences from all of these can be traced in the historic culture of the tribe. However, the extent and importance of these influences vary greatly in different parts of the Tanala territory. The region inhabited by the Tanala Ikongo, in the south, presented few natural obstacles to invasion and was relatively desirable. It lay between the territories of two unusually vigorous and aggressive tribes, the Bara and Antaimorona. As a result, it was constantly being entered by groups coming from the southeast coast and cattle areas. These conquered and amalgamated with the earlier inhabitants, imposing much of their own culture.

177 The territory of the Tanala Menabe, in the north, was much less
166 desirable. It was extremely mountainous, with almost impenetrable

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

jungle and heavy rain throughout a large part of the year. There was little to tempt invaders, but in time it came to be occupied by defeated groups who had been driven from the more desirable coast and plateau. Once established, these groups had little contact with the outside world. There was almost no trade. Their neighbors to the east and north were lethargic and they were protected from the more warlike plateau tribes partly by their poverty in cattle and partly by the plateau people's dislike for jungle fighting. Diffusion from the neighboring areas was, therefore, reduced to a minimum.

According to Menabe traditions the aboriginal inhabitants of their territory were of very low culture. They offered no resistance to the settlement of the invading people and soon amalgamated with them. The early invaders, coming from both coast and plateau, are said to have been fairly uniform in culture. Possibly many of the historic differences between these areas had not yet been developed. The method of life which they established has continued in the region down to the present time with only slight modifications. Certain new features have been adopted, but these can be checked by reliable traditions which give both the group from whom the new trait was borrowed and the approximate time of its introduction.

The culture of the Tanala Menabe is still uniform in most details, the only really divergent division being the Zafimaniry, who came into the region from the plateau in relatively recent times. In comparison with the other Madagascar cultures it is relatively simple and I believe it to be archaic. In many respects it agrees closely with the ancient culture of the more advanced tribes, as revealed in their traditions.

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

IV. COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT TRIBE

101 619 The term Tanala means simply "People of the Forest." It is applied to all the inhabitants of a certain stretch of territory irrespective of their origins and political affiliations. There has never been a Tanala tribe, if that term is used in the sense of a socially or politically integrated group.

618 In order to understand the composition of the Tanala, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the native social organization. The various social units are based on a combination of two factors, common descent and common residence. The smallest unit, aside from the individual family, is the lineage, a localized group of relatives who claim descent from a single ancestor in the male line. This unit occupies a certain part of a village and usually holds its lands in common. Lineages which have few children, or which have been decimated by disease or otherwise weakened, pass out of existence. Strong lineages increase steadily in numbers and finally secede from the village and found a village of their own. By imperceptible degrees the lineage becomes a gens, new lineages springing up within it and 618 new villages being founded. Throughout the whole process territorial unity is maintained. A lineage which moves too far away from its 631 parent village soon loses touch and becomes a separate unit. Sometimes the gens remains politically independent and continues to grow and occupy more and more territory until it becomes a tribe. More often, however, the tribal groups are made up of several gentes which have been brought together by conquest, or by alliance against some common enemy. There is usually no strong central control in such a tribe and individuals feel much more closely bound to their gens than to the larger unit. Gentes may belong to different tribes at different periods and a lineage from one gens may secede entirely and go into the territory of another tribe, with which it will, in time, become incorporated.

618 166 Actually, the composition of the Tanala seems to have been constantly changing, various groups entering and leaving the territory, shifting their residence and alliance within it, expanding or contracting and often disappearing. This state of flux was stimulated by the local conditions. The gentes were usually small and were almost always at war with each other. A strong group of invaders could easily displace or conquer the natives, while weak immigrants, who entered peacefully, would be welcomed by any resident group for

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

619 There seems to have been little or no feeling of unity between
101 these main divisions and I could not learn that they ever assisted each other in war. During the Imerina campaigns against the Ikongo, the Menabe, who had already submitted, remained quiet. Moreover, there were and still are certain cultural differences between the two. The Ikongo were better organized politically, with kings and a caste system like that of the southeast coast tribes. In their material culture they resembled the southeast coast in some respects and the Bara in others. The Menabe had no kings or castes until recent times. The division included one gens of pure plateau culture while the rest resembled the Betsimisaraka in many particulars.

DIVISIONS OF THE IKONGO

(From manuscript of Sadaro Antoine)

114 [That part of the manuscript dealing with the royal gentes and castes has been given in the chapter on Social Organization. Although the account contains much extraneous matter, it has seemed best to quote it in full because of the picture it gives of the constant state of flux in the population and the diverse origin of the various groups.]

619 The Government of Ankarimbelo is divided into two Govern-
618 ments Madinka: 1. Ankarimbelo, with the tribes [localized gentes] Manambondro, Vohitrosy, Vohimana-Sahafina and Marohala. 2. Ambatofisaka, with the tribes Zazanava and Tanalandravy. The whole group is known as Tanala or forest dwellers. All these tribes were independent, with their own chiefs, and were almost constantly at war with each other. Each tribe stayed in its own territory and knew nothing beyond it. [Here follows an account of the various castes and of the origin of the Zafirambo, the royal stock, which has been quoted in the chapter on Social Organization.]

MANAMBONDRO TRIBE.—Before the arrival of the Zafirambo in the Manambondro region it was inhabited by various gentes of different origin: the Sahavana, Antandroka, Ante-Varandrano and Ante-Maronony.

173 The Sahavana had been established in the region for about three
618 hundred years when the Zafirambo arrived. According to traditions they were the aborigines of the region. From the time of Rakonjavo, their ancestor, until that of Rafolo, in the fourth generation after him, they stayed on Mount Sahavana, from which they took their name. Rafolo's son, Ravanambe, married Volavano and had two

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Tanala Menabe informants could give lists of the gentes within their own tribe and of lineages within their gens, but knew little about the composition of other units. In the following tabulation, worked out from the manuscript, the tribes have been given at the extreme left, gentes next and more or less independent sub-gentes next. Undoubtedly some of the latter would be considered gentes by informants from within the next larger division. The Zafirambo, or royal caste, considered themselves a gens, but were distributed through the territory of several tribes.

TANALA IKONGO

TRIBE	GENS	SUB-GENS
Manambondro	Sahavana	
	Antandroka	
	Ante-Varandrano	Ante-Fenoarivo
		Tsiempodrano
		Sarodry
		Vohijaha
	Ante-Maronony	Ante-Be
		Tsimanovo
		Maintimboho
		Tokanono
Vohitrosy	Zafiraondra	
	Ante-Be	
	Zafindraharaha	
	Vinaninony	
Vohimana-Sahafina	Vohimana	Vohimana
		Zafintsira
		Zafindrafeno
		Hova Vohimana
	Sahafina	
Marohala		
Zazanava	Zazanava	
	Sahanava	
	Tsianary	
	Tambodiria	
	Zananfiringa	
	Sahanary	
Tanalandravy	Ante-Tsimatra	
	Antanony	
	Volibolo	
	Zafindraony	
	Ante-Omby	
	Ante-Saha	
	Antambahy	

DIVISIONS OF THE MENABE

The Tanala Menabe, the northern half of the forest dwellers, say that they belong to two main divisions, the Teloarivo Atsimo and the Teloarivo Varitra. The terms mean respectively "The Three Thousand of the South" and "The Three Thousand of the North." The

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various tribes composing the Teloarivo Varitra were never united politically prior to the French conquest. Those of the Teloarivo Atsimo were consolidated under a single rule about one hundred years ago. At this time the Zafiakotry, a gens of the Manandriana, were driven from their territory and appealed to the Imerina king, Andrianampoimerina, for help. He aided them to reinstate themselves and finally, by persuasion rather than force of arms, they became the rulers of the whole division. Their capital was at Ambohimanga du Sud, which was given this name in honor of Ambohimanga, the old Imerina capital. They remained nominal vassals of the Imerina, under light control, until the French conquest.

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[101]

TELOARIVO ATSIMO

Tribe	Gens	Sub-Gens
No name, but a single chief	Temina	
	Tsimanaike	
	Sakaleona	
Mahasila	Mahasila	
No name, but a single chief	Farovory or Maromena	
	Zanakontavy	
	Teroandrika	
Tsahanofa-Tsivoanana	Zafindriantrova	

TELOARIVO VARITRA

Zafindiamanana	Andrianihambana	
	Andriavahoakarivo	
	Andriavahoaka	
	Andrianibiaka	
	Zafiratonona	
	Zafindianony	
Manandriana	Mentymandry	
	Tsahanary	
	Zafimaniry	Sahanjavy
		Ankaromasina
		Fonacomby
		Ankarana
		Ambohimanana
		Zafimaniry
	Zafiakotry	Zanavavy (Royal)
		Betsiratsy
		Zafilambo
		Zafindrasoa (?)
		Panjaro (?)
		Mahalangy (?)
	Manandriana	Zafimaronaka
		Zanakanony
		Marolahy
		Tevato
		Tembatomarina